1: Burrows--93 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 596 Ifalik

"The typical household, then, is a matrilocal extended family. Its composition is determined by common residence, matrilineal inheritance of the homestead, and matrilocal residence after marriage. Most of the households that do not conform strictly to this type have an extended family as a nucleus, with some additions on the basis of other claims or of simple congeniality. Given the predominance of the extended family as the basis of membership in a household, the few households that consist of simple families can be regarded as vestigial or incipient extended families. Only two households, (d) and (e), vary fundamentally from the type.

The extended family is not as clearly envisaged in native thought as the clan. There are several terms for groups of relatives smaller than the clan, but none of them is strictly synonymous with 'extended family'. One, tral li votai (with a possessive suffix, in this case first person singular), means approximately 'all my relatives'--all who are recognized and treated as such. Another, welimwales, is also used in reference to some individual. Tom translated it as 'man, and women and boy blong that man.' Pressed to be more specific, he included the man's wife and sisters, and the children of both. These would not all be members of the same household or extended family. In the absence of a generic term for 'household,' particular households are designated by the names of the homesteads they occupy."

28: Spiro--6 [2] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 596 Ifalik

"The house is an extended-family dwelling (7) and is occupied therefore by a number of people, though everyone has free range of the house, each biological family occupies a certain section of it, by usage, so that its effects are separate from those of the others, it sleeps in a certain part of the house, and it has a hearth of its own. The hearth is not used for cooking, since all cooking is done in the malum, but it is used to warm cooked food, and to give heat on a cool day."

"7. See below, section on social organization."

28: Spiro--26-27 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 601, 596 Ifalik

"All members of a clan view themselves as relatives, but though their kinship terminology is classificatory, the kin terms do not extend to the entire clan, but are restricted in use, as we shall see.

Intermediate between the clan and the lineage, in size, is the extended [27] family (airo) which serves no particular function, nor is it clearly conceptualised in native thought. The airo is a bilateral, not a unilateral kin grouping as the clan and the lineage are, including relatives in both the mother's and father's lines. It is merely a classificatory term, used much as the term family, is used in our own culture to designate certain individuals, who are related in both the maternal and paternal line."

28: Spiro--27
116, 596

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"To say that the airo serves no function, is not strictly accurate. It serves no institutionaled [sic] function, but there are patterns of interaction of a purely informal nature that characterize the relationships of airo members. For example, though the natives are very generous with food, to the extent that any person in the vicinity of another house will be asked to partake of available food, an airo member will be treated even more generously, and often will be offered food to take home with him. Furthermore, a man constructing a canoe can anticipate the assistance of his airo member, not because this assistance is mandatory, but again, because of the closer degree of intimacy existing between them."

28: Spiro--27 [2]
116, 596, 602, 835

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians-1-2
Ifalik

"The existence of the airo indicates that Ifaluk kinship system is not entirely unilateral, or conversely, from a unilateral to a bilateral system. This, of course, is conjecture, and without historical evidence, cannot be documented. We can conclude, however, that the Ifaluk system is intermediate between the two extremes. This is demonstrated much more convincingly by marriage regulations. As pointed out above, clan exogamy is strict and universal, but clan endogamy does not exhaust the category of tabooed spouses. For aside from the parent-child taboo (which, of course, in the case of father--daughter is not a function of clan exogamy), a person may not marry a member of his airo. Though the natives do not express this taboo in these terms, as they do in the case of the clans, they do point out that a man may not marry either his father's sisters' children, or his father's brothers' children, neither of whom are clan members, but an airo. This inclusion of the airo members within the cultural definition of incest finds expression in other forms of sexual avoidance taboos. Though sexual references in conversation are taboo in mixed company, they are permitted in the presence of children. Tom, for example, would often joke sexually with the young girls, but never with a child in his airo, since they are 'all same my boy.' After administering a Rorschach to the daughter of his brother, I told him to tell her that she had a 'very fine stomach and a very fine head', and that when she had children they would too. He smiled, praised her 'stomach' and

'head', but did not repeat the prediction about her children. When I asked him, he explained that since she was his brother's, she was like his own children with whom he could not discuss sexual matters."

28: Spiro--27 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 596, 601 Ifalik

"This importance of airo is also displayed in kinship terminology, in which the father's brothers have the same term as the father, my father's sisters have the same term as my mother, and the children of my father's sisters father's brothers, and mother's brothers all have the same nomenclature as my own siblings and mother's sisters' children, who are of the same lineage and clan."